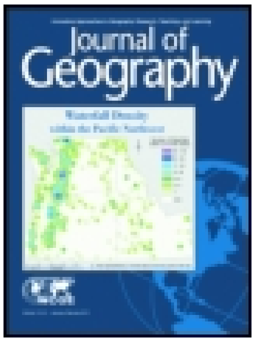

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The Changing Geography of U.S. Hispanics, 1850-1990

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In 1930, the majority of Hispanics were of Mexican descent and lived in the five Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. After World War II, the Latino migrant stream began to diversify and include large numbers of Caribbeans, and Central and South Americans who generally settled in the Eastern states and California. Hispanics of non-Mexican origin now account for 36 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population. Mexican immigration has continued, and large numbers of Mexican Americans live in regions far from the border states. The U.S. Hispanic population has increased from approximately one million in 1930, to approximately 32 million in 1997. County maps chronicle the changing distribution and numbers of Hispanics from 1850 to 1990. **Key words:** *Hispanic, Latino, Hispano, Tejano, Spanish-language radio stations.*

Knowing where Hispanics settle and why is a necessary first step toward understanding a number of contemporary social issues such as illegal immigration, bilingual education, English-only laws, multiculturalism, and assimilation. The U.S. Hispanic population has increased from four million in 1960, to 32 million in 1997, and the United States is now the fifth largest Spanish speaking country in the world after Mexico, Spain, Argentina, and Colombia (U.S. Department of Commerce 1993). This so-called "browning of America," is a popular topic among educators and academics, but little longitudinal mapping exists that chronicles the changing geography of Hispanics.

Definition of Terms and Methods

The United States is the only country in the world with a Hispanic minority. The term Hispanic comes from the Latin word for Iberia, *Hispania.* Widespread use of the term began in the late 1970s when the U.S. Census Bureau adopted it to describe all persons in the United States who are descendant from Spain or from a Spanish-speaking country of the New World (Garcia 1996, 197). Hispanic is based more on history and geography than ethnicity because Hispanics may be of any race—African, Asian, European, or Native American—as long as they can trace their ancestry to Spain or one of Spain's colonies. The most numerous Hispanics are Mexicans, followed by Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. Hispanics not part of these groups are labeled "Other" Hispanics by the Census Bureau. "Other" Hispanics include Dominicans, Spaniards, Central and South Americans, and native Hispanics such as Tejanos, Hispanos, and Chicanos. Recently, the term Hispanic has been losing ground to Latino. *Latino* originated from within the social group it describes and is considered a more appropriate term. I use Latino and Hispanic interchangeably. The term Anglo-American, or simply Anglo, is commonly used to describe non-Hispanic whites and is used in this article.

This article presents a series of maps showing the distribution of U.S. Hispanics for 1850, 1900, 1930, 1960, and 1990. Accompanying the maps is an extensive historical geography that helps explain current and past Hispanic distributions. The 5 percent level is the lowest breakpoint used in the maps because it is an important political and social threshold. The 1975 amendment to the *Voting Rights Act* states that jurisdictions must provide bilingual ballots and bilingual election materials when 5 percent of its voting age population belongs to a single-language minority (Kusnet 1992, 15).

Hispanics in 1850

The first Europeans to settle permanently in what is now the United States were from Spain, not England. The Upper Rio Grande Valley, currently part of New Mexico, was settled by Juan de Oñate in 1598. In 1607, Santa Fe was founded, and in 1610 it became the capital of New Mexico, making it the oldest U.S. state capital (Carlson 1990).

Oñate's expedition was one of four broad *entradas* (entries) into the present boundaries of the United States. Figure 1 presents the dates, population, and settlement geography of the four entradas. The entradas were part of a Spanish strategy to provide a buffer from Russian and French advances and to

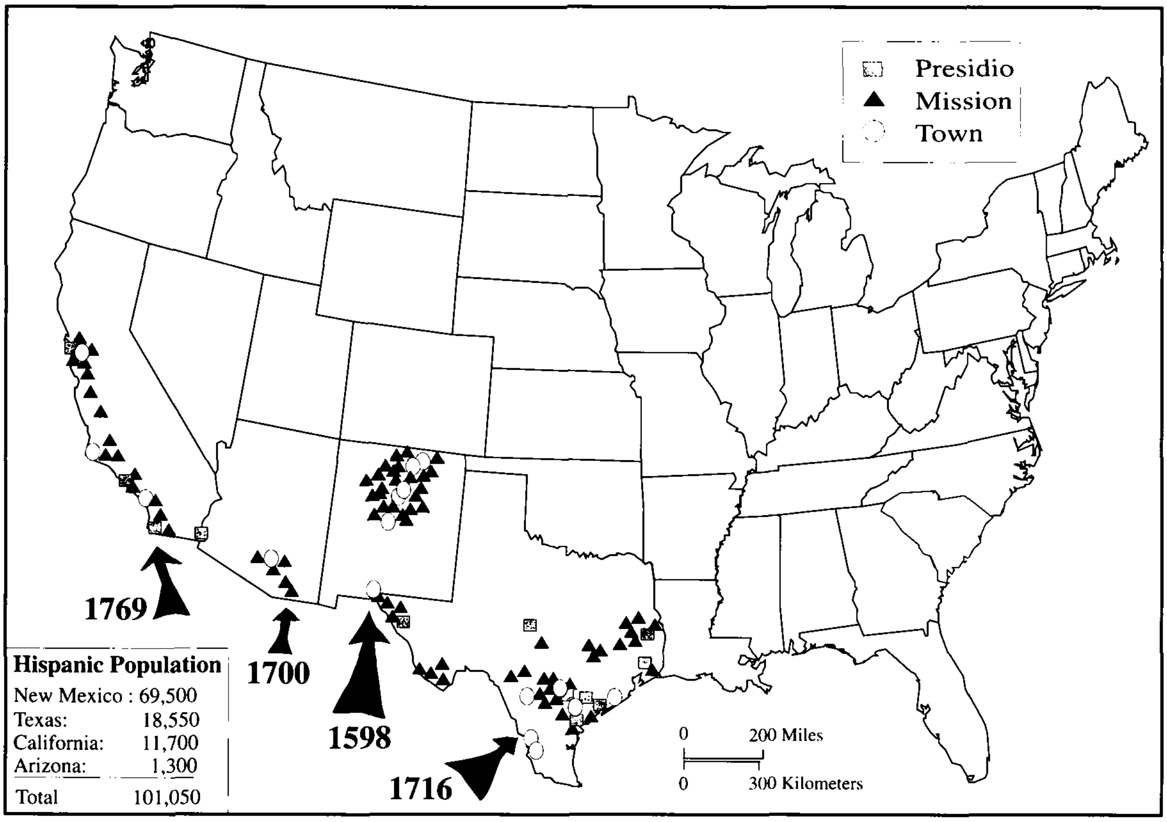

Figure 1. Hispanic population, 1850. *Source:* Martinez (1975), Carlson (1966), Simons and Hoyt (1992), Bannon (1979), and Bufkin (1975).

Hispanicize Native Americans. The entradas were based on three components: 1) missions to christianize Native Americans, 2) towns for commerce and administration, and 3) *presidios* (forts) for protection.

The second entrada began a century after the Oñate expedition. Father Eusebio Kino's missionary work advanced into Pimería Alta, currently southern Arizona, in 1700. Father Kino helped establish the mission at San Xavier del Bac near present-day Tucson. The third entrada began in response to French settlements in Louisiana. Fearful of French advances, Spain established a presidio at Nacogdoches, in east Texas in 1716, followed by the presidio in San Antonio in 1718. The fourth and final entrada began in response to Russian settlements in the Pacific Northwest. Led by Father Junipero Serra, the Spanish established a string of missions along the California coast, beginning in San Diego, California, in 1769 (Nostrand 1970).

These four settlement areas constituted Spain's northern frontier; close to the hostile Apache and Comanche Indians, but far away from the civilization of Mexico City and the wealth of the silver mines on the Central Mexican Plateau. Because of this isolation, recruiting settlers was difficult. Although there were a few aristocratic Spaniards and Jesuits leading the entradas, the majority of the settlers were poor mestizos (Spanish and Indian), mulatos (Spanish and black), and coyotes (mestizo and Indian) (De la Teja 1995, 24).

Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, a year that also marked a change in frontier strategy that included the secularization of the missions (Bolton 1921, 275). Lack of support for missionary activity reduced the population and importance of the missions, but more liberal Mexican trade policies opened up the Santa Fe Trail, leading to increased commercial activity between Mexico and the United States. Contact with an expansionist United States eventually led to one of the least remembered but most important wars in American history—the Mexican-American War.

Mexico's northern frontier stood in the way of American Manifest Destiny and the desire to control the continent from Atlantic to Pacific. In 1846, the U.S. Senate approved a declaration of war with Mexico and 17 months later General Winfield Scott "rode triumphantly through the [Mexico] City Square amid the deafening cheers of what was left of his army" (Eisenhower 1989, 342). Having won the battle for Mexico City, the victorious Americans began dictating terms. Mexico offered to cede California and Texas, but not New Mexico. The Americans rejected this proposal and under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 forced Mexico to cede all lands north of the Rio Grande and north of a horizontal line drawn one marine league south of the port of San Diego extending to the Rio Grande at El Paso. Later, in 1853, the Gadsden Purchase finalized the U.S.-Mexico boundary in southern Arizona.

The invasion, annexation, and purchase of the northern half of Mexico left a legacy of Spanish speakers, Spanish architecture, Mexican food, and Roman law throughout the

Southwest. More importantly, United States expansionism created a minority population with strong historic, geographic, familial, and cultural links to Mexico that are evident today.

U.S. Hispanics, 1900

After the United States appropriated the northern half of Mexico in 1848, Anglos migrated westward, especially to the gold fields of California and to the farmland of east Texas. Figure 2 reveals that by 1900 California and east Texas had been completely overwhelmed by Anglos. In California, only Santa Barbara County remained at least 5 percent Hispanic. In southern Arizona, Hispanics had become the minority in every county. Mexicans were recruited to work the copper mines throughout southern Arizona, and as a result, several Arizona counties had sizable Hispanic proportions in 1900.

In contrast to California, the percentage of Hispanics in New Mexico and Colorado expanded during this period. The establishment of U.S. military power in New Mexico controlled Ute, Apache, and Comanche raids, thereby facilitating the expansion of New Mexican Hispanics, called Hispanos, throughout New Mexico and into Colorado. Hispanos moved into southern Colorado and established the state's first town, San Luis, in 1851 (Figure 2). The year 1900 marked the demographic and geographic apogee of what Richard Nostrand (1980) and Alvar Carlson (1990) call the Hispano Homeland. The Hispano Homeland is a distinctive cultural area, the core of which is in north-central New Mexico around Taos and Santa Fe. Some unique cultural attributes in the Hispano Homeland include archaic Spanish words, long lots along irrigation ditches, and Penitente *moradas* (meeting houses).

Arreola (1993) identified a second Hispanic homeland in South Texas. After the Anglo take-over, many Texas Hispanics, called Tejanos, fled to Mexico or to the relative safety of South Texas below the Nueces River. The 1900 core of the Tejano Homeland was along the United States side of the Rio Grande in the cluster of 13 counties greater than 50 percent Tejano. Like the Hispano Homeland, the Tejano Homeland has distinctive characteristics, including a high percentage of central town plazas, unique festival celebrations, and a distinctive music.

Although the Hispano and Tejano homelands were able to maintain their demographic and cultural dominance after 1850, contact with Anglo-Americans altered the economy and their role in society. With the Anglos came American capital and a religious determination to develop the land. Anglos immediately began to integrate the northern Mexican frontier into the expanding industrial capitalism of the American West, first in California and Texas, and later in Arizona, New

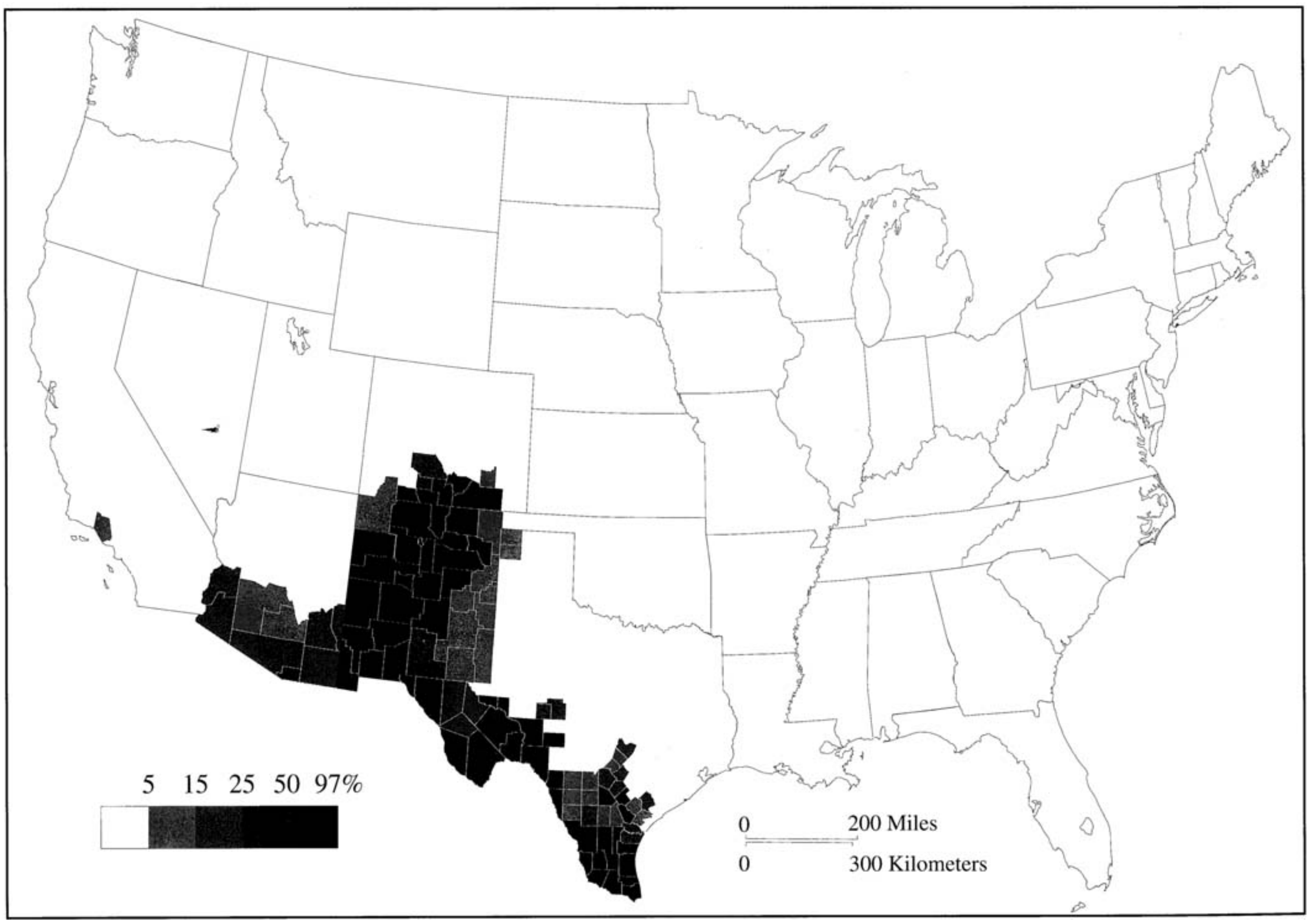

Figure 2. Percentage of Hispanics by county, 1900. *Source:* Nostrand (1980), De Leon and Jordan (1982), Hornbeck (1983), and Camarillo (1979).

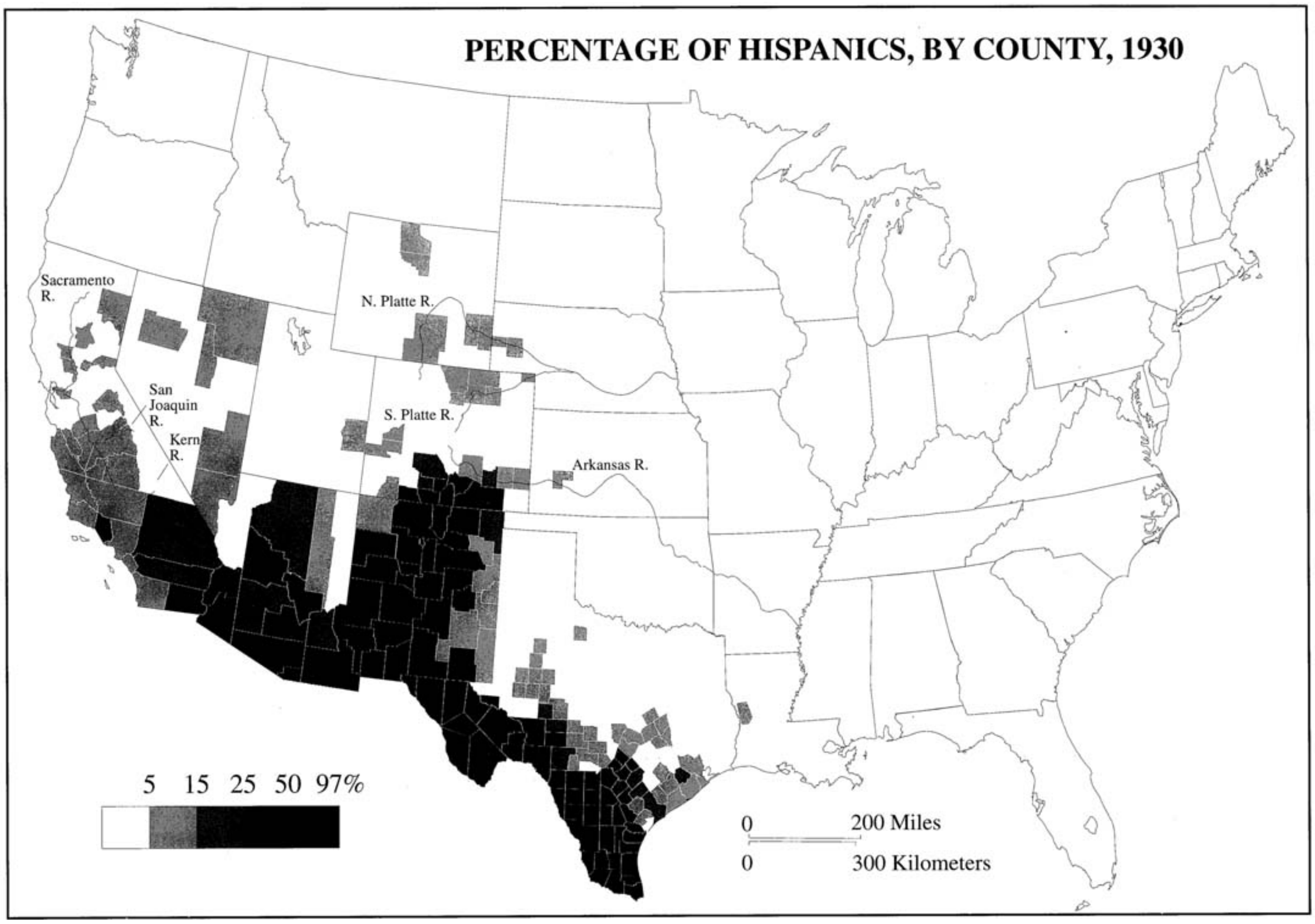

Figure 3. Percentage of Hispanics by county, 1930. *Source:* U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1930; Haverluk 1993.

Mexico, and Colorado. Development meant clearing land of mesquite and cactus, building dams, digging irrigation canals, constructing railroads, and expanding vegetable and cotton production. The primary source of labor to accomplish these tasks consisted of Mexicans and the recently conquered Mexican-Americans. One Anglo rancher of South Texas put it this way:

> ...if it were not for those Meskins [sic], this place wouldn't be on the map. It is very true about the Anglo know-how, but without those Meskin [sic] hands no one could have built up the prosperity we have in this part of the nation (Spillman 1979, 22).

Anglo immigration, the number of farms, and tillable acres in the West increased rapidly after 1900 (Worster 1985). The pre-1850 linkages between the northern Mexican frontier (now the U.S. Southwest) and the Mexican interior continued during the American period.

U.S. Hispanics, 1930

The historic linkages between Mexico and the United States were an essential component to American economic expansion as people, money, and ideas flowed virtually unimpeded between the two countries. From 1900 to 1925, approximately 700,000 Mexicans migrated to the United States. Since there was no border patrol, crossing was safe and easy (Daniels 1990, 326). Figure 3 shows the expanded geography of Mexican migration. Between 1900 and 1930, Mexicans migrated to several newly developed irrigated valleys of the West: the sugar beet regions of the North and South Platte Rivers in Wyoming, Nebraska and Colorado; the fruit and vegetable regions of the Arkansas River in Colorado and Kansas; and the cotton, fruit, and vegetable areas of the Sacramento, San Joaquin and Kern Rivers in Central California.

The establishment of Hispanic communities in counties that did not traditionally have Hispanic populations created new migrant streams that made it easier for subsequent generations of Mexican migrants to relocate—it also made it easier for subsequent generations of Anglo farmers and industrialists to hire Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.

Several thousand Mexicans were also recruited to work the factories and the fields of the Midwest. By 1930, more than 30,000 Mexicans were working in the factories in the Chicago-Gary area, but unlike the West, where Mexicans were the primary source of labor, in the Midwest they were only one of several sources, and as a result, no Midwestern county had Hispanic populations of at least 5 percent in 1930 (Taylor 1932).

The mass movement of Mexicans to the United States spurred the Census Bureau to create a new racial category, *Mexican,* in 1930. Census enumerators were instructed that "all persons born in Mexico, who are not definitely white, Negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese should be returned as Mexican" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930, 27). The 1930 census enumerated 1,422,533 Mexicans, 90 percent of whom lived in the West, primarily in Texas. Table 1 provides a regional and ethnic breakdown of the Hispanic population in 1930 and reveals that the U.S. Hispanic population was still overwhelmingly Mexican and Western.

Table 1
Hispanic Population, 1930

Region**	Hispanic Population	Percent by Region	Mexican* Origin	Puerto Rican
West	1,478,535	92	1,477,273	1,262
Midwest	59,227	4	59,227	NA
South	6,908	1	6,908	NA
East	58,882	4	7,370	51,512
Total	1,603,552	100	1,550,778	52,774

NA = Not Available
* Includes Hispanos
** West: WA, OR, CA, ID, NV, MT, WY, CO, NM, UT, ND, SD, NE, KS, OK, TX. Midwest: MN, WI, MI, OH, IN, IL, IA, MO. South: AK, FL, LA, MS, AL, GA, SC, NC, TN, KY, VA, WV. East: MD, DE, DC, PA, NJ, NY, CT, RI, MA, NH, VT, ME.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1930.

After 1900, Mexicans became the primary source of labor in the West as a result of several amendments to U.S. immigration law. In California, Chinese were excluded by the *Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882,* which was followed by a Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907 to curb Japanese immigration to the United States. These Asian exclusion acts were the first in a series of amendments that restricted immigration, culminating in the *Immigration Act of 1924* and the creation of the U.S. Border Patrol in 1925 (Daniels 1990, 328).

The *National Origins Act of 1924* established a quota system based on the national origin of immigrants (Yang 1995, 23). The number of immigrants admitted was based on 2 percent of the number of foreign-born persons of a given nationality in 1890. The year 1890 was chosen because prior to that date immigrants were primarily from western and northern Europe. Between 1890 and 1920, southern and eastern Europeans dominated the migrant stream. By basing admission on 2 percent of the 1890 population, the amendment effectively restricted southern and eastern European immigration, as well as most Asian immigration—but it also created labor shortages (Daniels 1990, 283).

The state department worked in cooperation with industry and agriculture to keep immigration from Mexico open and, by the 1920s, Mexicans became the most important source of immigrant labor in the West. Mexican labor, it was argued, would be easier to send home during recessions, but Mexico was close enough and labor plentiful enough that labor streams could be re-established when necessary (Daniels 1990, 309). The idea that Mexican labor could be forcibly returned to Mexico during recessions is what I call the *repatriation strategy.*

The Great Depression led to the implementation of the repatriation strategy and thousands of Mexicans were forcibly returned to Mexico. The number of Mexicans in the United States declined throughout the 1930s and early 1940s, only to rebound again during and after World War II.

U.S. Hispanics, 1960

The end of the Depression and the onset of World War II led to labor shortages in agriculture and industry. Mexican workers were again seen as a partial solution to U.S. labor shortages. In 1942, the United States and Mexico established a guest worker system called the Bracero Program. The Bracero Program (from *brazo,* arm) guaranteed transportation, food, housing, and a minimum wage for braceros.

Figure 4 shows that the Bracero Program expanded Mexican settlement geography, this time to the cotton fields of the Texas south plains; the hops and orchard farms of the Yakima River Valley in Washington; and the vegetable growing areas of the Snake River Valley in Idaho. The Bracero Program was in effect between 1942 and 1964. During its peak in the mid-1950s, an average of 400,000 Mexicans entered the United States each year (Grebler et al. 1970, 176). Braceros were expensive, however. Many farmers bypassed the Bracero Program with its high cost and cumbersome bureaucracy and hired undocumented (illegal) Mexicans directly. Undocumented Mexicans were less expensive and easier to control than Braceros, and in 1953, over 800,000 undocumented Mexicans were apprehended along the border (Grebler et al. 1970, 68).

Figure 4 also reveals that the Hispano Homeland in New Mexico and Colorado contracted after 1900, while the Tejano Homeland was able to maintain its dominance. California's Hispanic proportions also increased, especially in the central valley around Fresno.

The period of high immigration in the 1950s was interrupted by a recession after the end of the Korean War, which again led to forcible repatriation. In 1954, the United States established a paramilitary organization called Operation Wetback, whose goal was to find and return undocumented workers. Operation Wetback was run by a retired Army general who successfully repatriated over 3.8 million undocumented Mexicans (many of whom were sent back more than once). Success at stemming the flow of undocumented Mexicans was only temporary because the western United States economy still relied on Mexicans in several economic sectors, especially agriculture. The end of the recession led to the termination of Operation Wetback, and in 1955, undocumented Mexican migration returned to pre-Operation Wetback levels (Grebler 1970, 176).

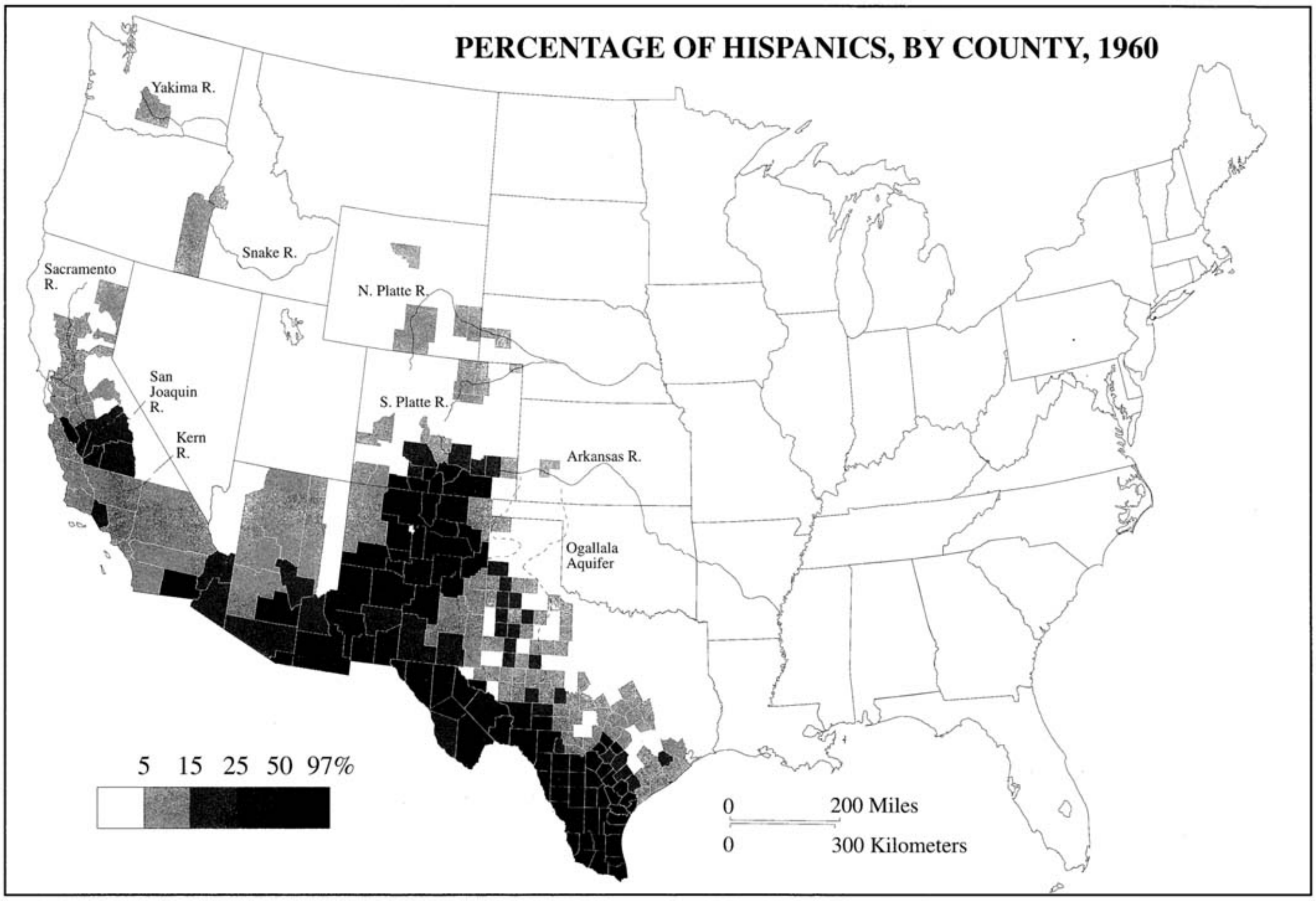

Figure 4. Percentage of Hispanics by county, 1960. *Source:* U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1960.

The Bracero Program was terminated in 1964 because of widespread abuse on both sides of the border, but immigration continued—albeit illegally. American farmers found it cheaper and easier to hire undocumented aliens. American businesses who hired undocumented Mexicans were breaking no law, and after the termination of the Bracero Program in 1964, use of Mexican labor continued to be widespread.

Table 2 reveals that the Mexican population doubled from 1930 to 1960, but that the Puerto Rican population increased 16 times. Widespread Puerto Rican immigration to the United States began in the 1950s with the introduction of inexpensive flights from Puerto Rico. The overwhelming number of Puerto Ricans settled in New York City resulting in the increasing importance of Latinos in the East. In 1930, 92 percent of Hispanics lived in the West, in 1960 only 78 percent lived there. Changing settlement destinations among Puerto Ricans, a revolution in Cuba, and changes in U.S. immigration laws initiated new Latino migrant streams, continuing the trend of Latino diversification seen in Table 2.

U.S. Hispanics 1990

Puerto Ricans

Figure 5 reveals that by 1990 Puerto Ricans had become a highly visible minority group along the eastern seaboard. According to the 1990 census, there were 2.6 million Puerto Ricans in the United States, (triple the number from 1960) 70 percent of whom lived in megalopolis. The majority of Puerto Ricans still live in New York, but large numbers also live in New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania.

Puerto Rican migration to the United States is relatively easy because they are U.S. citizens. Puerto Rican citizenship stems from another U.S. colonial adventure. In 1898, the

Table 2
Hispanic Population, 1960

Region	Hispanic Population	Percent by Region	Mexican* Origin	Puerto Rican
West	3,561,668	78	3,519,318	42,350
Midwest	199,184	4	133,012	66,172
South	47,313	1	15,457	31,856
East	754,684	17	22,219	732,465
Total	4,562,849	100	3,690,006	872,843

*Includes Hispanos

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1960.

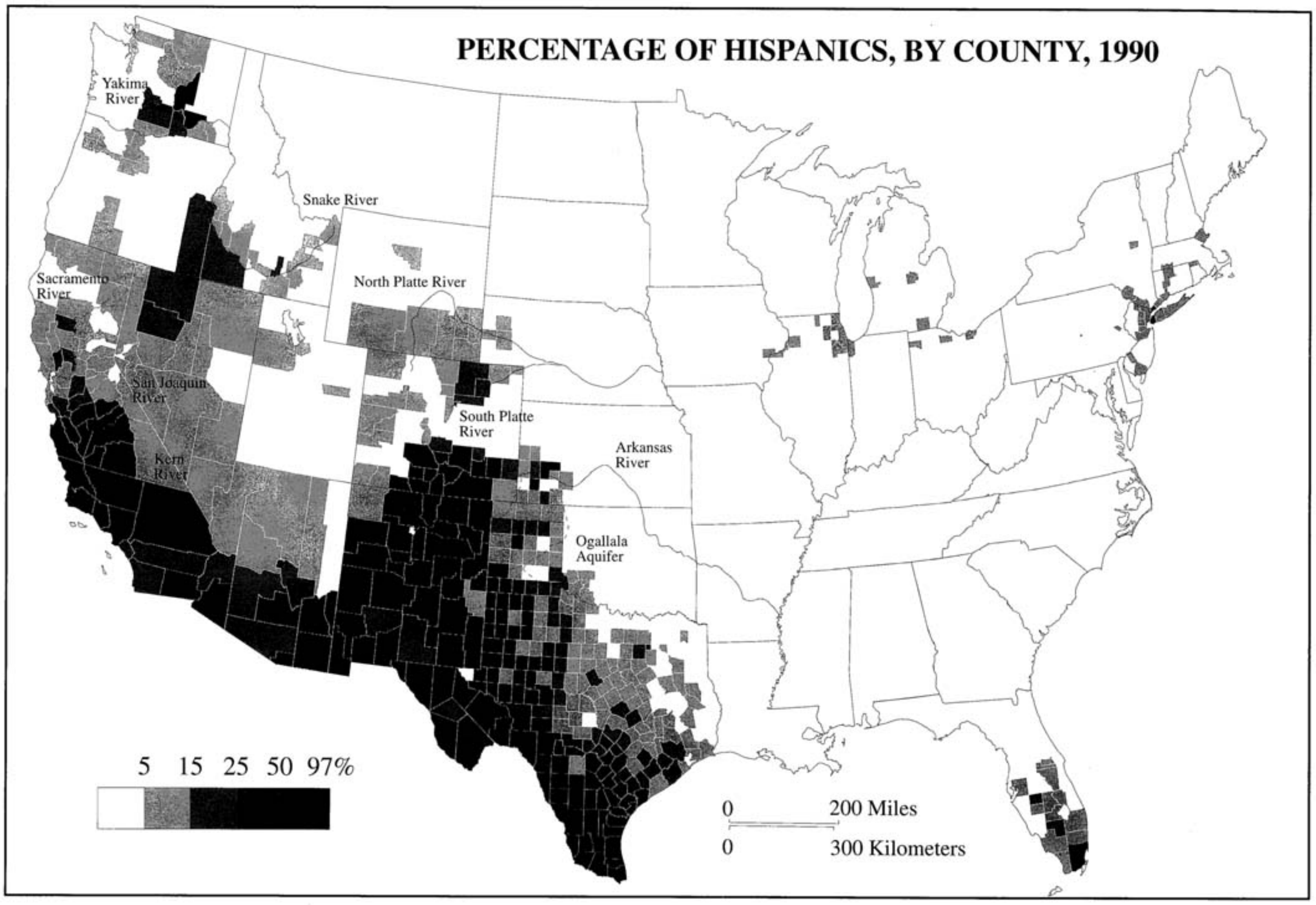

Figure 5. Percentage of Hispanics by county, 1990. *Source:* U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1993.

United States defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War and took control of the remnants of Spain's colonial empire, including the island of Puerto Rico. In 1910, there were only 1,513 Puerto Ricans in the United States. In 1917, Puerto Ricans became U.S. citizens. The number of Puerto Ricans on the mainland remained small until World War II when they were recruited by the War Man Power Commission to alleviate labor shortages in the East and Midwest. Puerto Ricans were given preference over other labor sources because they were U.S. citizens. At first, only skilled workers were admitted, but the need for more labor led to the recruitment of railroad workers for the Baltimore and Ohio line in 1944 (Moldanado-Denis 1976, 111).

After World War II, spurred by the expanding U.S. economy and the availability of inexpensive commercial flights to the mainland, Puerto Rican immigration increased markedly. During the 1960s, Puerto Ricans migrating to the United States overwhelmingly chose New York City, but agricultural workers were recruited to several eastern and midwestern states, especially Ohio and Pennsylvania.

In Megalopolis, the term Hispanic is associated with Puerto Ricans or "Other" Hispanics. Puerto Rican food, music, and immigration history are distinct from Mexican. Puerto Rican music is Bomba and Plena, not Mariachi and Tejano. Puerto Rican folk architectural influences can be seen on *casitas* (little houses) in many of New York's community gardens. The majority of my students in Maryland and Massachusetts, for example, had never heard of the word Chicano.

Cubans

Figure 5 reveals another important cluster of Hispanics in south Florida. This population is primarily Cuban and dates from the Revolution of 1959. In that year, Fidel Castro assumed control of Cuba and expropriated private land holdings, banks, and industrial concerns. Thousands of mostly upper- and middle-class Cubans who opposed the regime fled to the United States. Prohias and Casals (1973, 12) identified three stages of Cuban migration to the United States:

1) between 1959 and 1962 when commercial flights between Cuba and the U.S. were available,
2) between 1962 and 1965 when the Cuban missile crisis led to the suspension of flights, and
3) between 1965 and 1973 when daily air flights between Cuba and Miami resumed.

All Cubans who made it to this country were immediately granted refugee status and allowed to remain legally. Initially, the U.S. government attempted to relocate Cubans to other parts of the United States to lessen the impact of Cubans on

south Florida, but most relocated Cubans eventually moved back to south Florida.

Two more stages must now be added to the list:

4) between 1973 and 1994, when, for the most part, Cubans used boats to sail the 90 miles between Cuba and south Florida, and
5) after August 1994, when President Bill Clinton revoked automatic refugee status for Cubans, thereby pulling up the 36-year old Cuban welcome mat in Florida.

Between 1959 and 1994, approximately 715,000 Cubans successfully relocated to the United States (*Washington Post* 1994), most to Florida. In Florida, the word Hispanic is associated primarily with Cubans, whose language and traditions are distinct from Puerto Ricans and Mexicans.

Table 3 presents the 1990 population of the most numerous Hispanic groups—Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, as well as "Other" Hispanics. The percentage by region reveals a continuation of the decreasing demographic dominance of the West—from 92 percent in 1930, to 66 percent in 1990, and the corresponding increase of the south and east. Until 1990, the South had fewer Hispanics than the Midwest. Table 3 also reveals the importance of the "Other" Hispanic population, which in 1990 was larger than the Puerto Rican and Cuban populations combined.

Other Hispanics

Between 1924 and 1965, most Latin Americans were restricted from legally immigrating to the United States. As already mentioned, the exceptions were Puerto Ricans, who are U.S. citizens, Cuban refugees, and Mexican braceros. Until 1965, U.S. Hispanics were overwhelmingly from Mexico and the Caribbean. After 1965, the Latin American migrant stream expanded to include Central and South Americans.

The social revolution in the 1960s and world-wide condemnation of the restrictive *National Origins Act of 1924* led to the emendation of U.S. immigration law. The *Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965* phased out the quota system and its restrictions and placed in its stead a hemispheric allocation system that admitted 170,000 persons from the eastern hemisphere and 120,000 from the western hemisphere for an annual ceiling of 290,000. Available slots were meted-out based on family reunification, which favored Mexico with its large U.S. population. In 1976, the system was amended to allow only 20,000 from one country, which expanded the Latin migrant stream to Central and South America.

In 1980, Congress established the *Refugee Act,* which allowed 50,000 refugees to enter annually. The *Refugee Act* facilitated the migration of thousands of Central Americans caught in U.S.-sponsored wars against communism, especially in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala. In 1980, thousands of anticommunist Nicaraguans, like Cubans 20 years earlier, fled their country and relocated to the United States, primarily to Florida (79,056). Salvadorans (338,769) and Guatemalans (159,177) preferred California, but several thousand also migrated to New York and south Florida (Daniels 1990, 341). Even with these changes, however, Mexicans are still the largest legal immigrant group not only among Latin Americans, but among all legal immigrant groups (Yang, 1995, 24).

Central Americans, South Americans, and Dominicans are lumped together by the Census Bureau under the title "Other" Hispanics. About one-half of all Central Americans live in California (637,656), especially Los Angeles County (453,048). About three-fourths of all Dominicans live in New York City (357,868). South Americans also prefer New York (279,101), but also live in California (182,384), Florida (170,531), and New Jersey (126,286). "Other" Hispanics are the fastest growing segment of the Latino population in the East and the South. "Other" Hispanic are the majority Latino population in Rhode Island (Guatemalans), Maryland (Salvadorans), and the District of Columbia (Salvadorans and Dominicans). In New York and New Jersey "Other" Hispanics are now almost as numerous as Puerto Ricans. Unlike the West and Midwest, where Mexicans are the overwhelming majority, the eastern and southern Hispanic populations are more heterogeneous. West of the Mississippi, only San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Houston have substantial "Other" Hispanic populations. Table 4 shows the distribution of the three principal "Other" Hispanic groups. The "Other" Hispanic population is essentially bicoastal, with about 90 percent of the population living along the northeastern seaboard, Florida, or California.

Table 3
Hispanic Population, 1990

Region	Hispanic Population	Percent by Region	Mexican Origin	Puerto Rican	Cuban	"Other" Hispanics*
West	14,325,314	66	12,186,656	220,777	108,114	1,809,772
Midwest	1,524,611	7	1,018,797	251,735	32,561	221,518
South	2,116,532	10	346,672	321,626	709,360	738,874
East	3,739,781	17	188,706	1,826,466	196,179	1,528,430
Total	21,706,243	100	13,740,831	2,620,604	1,046,214	4,298,594

*Includes Hispanos, Dominicans, Central Americans, South Americans, and Hispanics who identified themselves as Spanish, Chicano, Tejano, Californio, and so on.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1990.

Table 4
"Other" Hispanic Populations, 1990

Region	"Other" Hispanics	Percent by Region	Central Americans	South Americans	Dominicans
West	1,039,198	36	771,649	256,317	11,232
Midwest	104,646	4	45,444	54,330	4,873
South	493,846	17	229,350	224,650	39,846
East	1,227,775	43	276,095	496,560	455,120
Total	2,865,465	100	1,322,538	1,031,857	511,071

*Includes Dominicans, Central Americans, and South Americans.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1990.

The Puerto Rican, Cuban, and "Other" Hispanic population is primarily eastern. In 1990, the East had 25 counties greater than 5 percent Hispanic, compared to zero in 1960. The same is true of Florida, which in 1960 was overwhelmingly Anglo, but in 1990 had 15 counties greater than 5 percent Hispanic, including Dade County, the only county east of the Mississippi greater than 50 percent Hispanic.

The Midwestern cluster of counties centered around Chicago is primarily Mexican (612,442 or about 70 percent of the Illinois Hispanic population). The large number of Mexicans in Chicago is a continuation of Mexican migration to Chicagoland factories that began during the 1920s. The Michigan Hispanic population is also primarily Mexican. Michigan was the second most important sugar beet producing state after Colorado in the 1920s, and thousands of Mexicans migrated to Michigan to work beets (Taylor 1932). Michigan and other parts of the Midwest still rely on Mexican agricultural labor.

Even more dramatic than Hispanic increases in the East and South is the continued growth and geographic expansion of the western Hispanic population shown in Figure 5. The Hispanic population west of the Mississippi is still overwhelmingly of Mexican descent. In 1960, the Northwest had one county, Yakima, greater than 5 percent Hispanic. In 1990, there were 34 counties with a Hispanic population greater than 5 percent. The migrant linkages established between Mexico and the Northwest during the Bracero Program still exist, and some Yakima Valley communities, such as Toppenish and Sunnyside, are now majority Hispanic. The Snake River Valley in Idaho has almost as many counties greater than 5 percent Hispanic (14) as the East (25). The number of Hispanics in the Northwest is not as large as in Megalopolis, but their proportions and their influence on the landscape and the culture are perhaps greater.

In Texas, the Tejano Homeland has expanded northward and westward—in 1960 Texas had 17 counties greater than 50 percent Hispanic, in 1990 there were 34 counties greater than 50 percent Hispanic. There is now a continuous cluster of Hispanic majority counties 700 miles long from El Paso in extreme West Texas to Corpus Christi along the Gulf of Mexico. In 1990, these counties had a population of 2.2 million and is one reason that Texas overtook New York to become the second largest state in 1994. Based on current Hispanic growth rates, several more counties in south Texas and on the South Plains will be majority Hispanic by the year 2000.

In New Mexico and Colorado the Hispano homeland has lost some of its demographic dominance while the southern part of New Mexico has become increasingly Mexican. In California and Nevada, almost every county has seen sharp rises in the percentage of Hispanics since 1960, yet only one county, Imperial, along the Mexican border is greater than 50 percent Hispanic. Even though the western Hispanic population is not as dominant as it once was, 66 percent of all Hispanics live in the West and it is America's most ethnically diverse region.

Hispanic Influence

Hispanics, especially Mexicans, have historically had a large impact on the cultural and economic geography of the United States. The American cowboy and the ranching (*rancho*) industry owe much of their existence to the Mexican *vaquero* (buckaroo). Many of the tools and vocabulary of the cowboy originated in Mexico: lariat (*la reata*), chaps (*chaparejos*), mustangs (*mesteños*) and rodeo (*rodear*, to round up), to name a few. Mexicans have also influenced music and contributed much of the "Western" to Country & Western music. In south Florida, the "Miami sound" is influenced by Caribbean rhythms and the Spanish language (Roberts 1979). Mexican food, which has always been popular out West, is now common throughout the United States and salsa now outsells ketchup (Minneapolis Star and Tribune, 13 November 1992). The increasing number and wider distribution of Hispanics in the United States means that the Spanish language is more widespread now than it has been historically, and many phrases such as nada, hasta la vista, mañana, mano a mano, and no más have entered the popular vernacular.

Hispanics, like the U.S. Asian population, are a diverse group from many different countries. Unlike the Asian population, however, Hispanics share a common language. Spanish was the first European language in North America, and the use of Spanish has increased with the Hispanic population. Spanish is reinforced through Spanish language media, including magazines, newspapers, TV, and radio. Hispanics, however, seem to prefer radio to print and TV (Greenberg 1983). Full- and part-time Spanish-language radio stations (SLRS) were once primarily a border phenomenon but are now common throughout the United States, especially in the West. SLRS can be an important diagnostic feature of the relative importance of the Spanish language in a place (Figure 6).

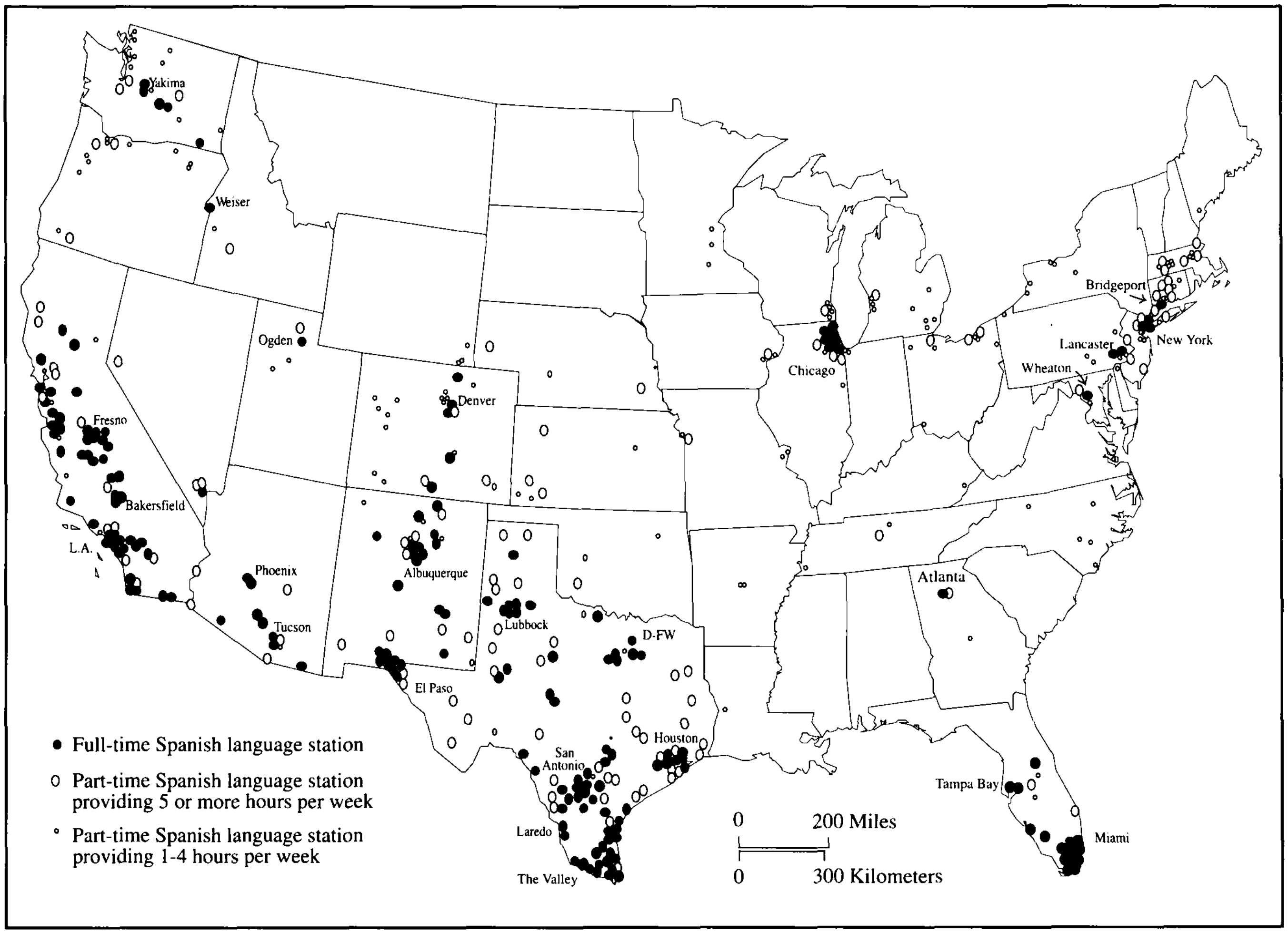

Figure 6. Spanish Language Radio Stations, 1990. Full-time formats in the West include Country and Western/Hispanic, bilingual Tejano, Hispanic/Anglo/Indian, Spanish music, Spanish hit radio, bilingual Hispanic, and Spanish. Full-time formats outside the West include Spanish news, Spanish urban Contemporary, Spanish, Spanish music, Spanish hit radio, Spanish/Caribbean, Spanish/Portuguese, Spanish talk, Hispanic, and Latin.
Source: *Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook, 1990.*

Texas has the most SLRS in the country—twice as many as California, which has double the Hispanic population of Texas. The dominance of Texas in SLRS suggest that Spanish may be more important there than in California, and in fact, Texas Hispanics have higher Spanish language usage rates than California Hispanics (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993). One-half of Texas' full-time SLRS are in the Tejano Homeland, also known as "The Valley," where Tejano music originated.

Tejano music is rooted in traditional, accordion-based norteño music of Mexico but also incorporates synthesizers, salsa rhythms, and even hip-hop. Tejano music began in south Texas and has spread throughout Texas and the West. Many western radio stations shown in Figure 6 play predominately Tejano music. In San Antonio and Los Angeles, the highest rated radio stations in 1993 were Tejano stations (Dallas Morning News, 1993). When the well-known Tejano singer Selena was gunned down by a disgruntled fan in 1995, the news spread rapidly through the network of radio stations, and for days afterward there were Selena tributes as far north as the Yakima Valley. The popularity of Tejano may partially explain why there are more full-time SLRS in Lubbock, Texas, with 51,000 Hispanics than in New York City with over one million Hispanics. The state of Washington, with 206,018 Hispanics, has almost as many full-time SLRS as the East with 3 million Hispanics. The reason for the greater concentration of SLRS in the West is the result of several factors:

1) In the Texas and New Mexico homelands, Hispanics have always been the dominant population, thereby legitimizing Hispanic culture from a very early date;
2) Proximity to the border reinforces the use of Spanish among Hispanics and even many non-Hispanics;
3) Most western Hispanics are of Mexican descent and share more similar tastes and values than the more heterogeneous eastern Hispanic population;
4) The ability to procure airway space is easier in Lubbock, Texas, than in New York City, because the airways are more crowded in New York City; and
5) The West is where most U.S. Hispanics live. My own research has shown that non-Hispanics living in areas with large numbers of Spanish speakers are signifi-

cantly more likely to speak Spanish than other non-Hispanics (Haverluk 1993).

South Florida and Chicago, which are primarily Cuban and Mexican respectively, also have large numbers of full-time SLRS. Atlanta's full-time SLRS is perhaps emblematic of the "New South."

The Future

Large increases in non-European immigrants since 1965 have fueled anti-immigration sentiment and latent racism that culminated in the *Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986* and Proposition 187 (Prop. 187) in California, in 1994. The Act of 1986 established four new immigration provisions:

1) Amnesty for illegal aliens in the U.S. since 1982. Over 3 million illegal immigrants, 70 percent of whom were Mexican, were accepted into the amnesty program and are now in various stages of the legalization process.
2) Requirements that employers verify the eligibility of all newly hired employees. This provision is the reason why all employees must now provide employers with proof of citizenship or proof of legal residence upon hiring. Instead of inhibiting immigration, this provision has led to the establishment of a sophisticated underground network of fraudulent document providers. Employers only have to ask for documentation, they do not have to verify its authenticity. Many western farmers still rely on illegal aliens and comply with the letter, but not the spirit, of the law.
3) Sanctions against employers that knowingly hire illegals. This provision was designed to mete out tough fines to persons or businesses that knowingly hire illegals. Many western farmers and businesses have relied on illegal Mexican labor for decades and are unwilling to blow the whistle on their neighbor for hiring illegals. Furthermore, in order to get the necessary votes to pass the bill, western growers insisted that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) could not conduct raids during harvest, effectively taking the teeth out of the amendment.
4) Provisions to allow agricultural workers to be recruited during times of labor shortages. Clearly the most ironic, even hypocritical, component of a bill designed to reduce immigration is the Replenishment of Agricultural Workers (RAW) component of the Act. RAW established a mechanism to authorize an additional 250,000 agricultural workers each year who could eventually be returned to Mexico—again the repatriation strategy. Ten years after its implementation, the Act of 1986 has not been very effective at stemming Latino immigration (Daniels 1990, 342).

The Act's ineffectiveness led to Proposition 187 in California, which proposes that all state services be denied to illegal immigrants and their children, even if they were born in the United States. This latter component of the bill is probably unconstitutional, and a California court has blocked its implementation. At the national level, there is debate in Congress to amend current immigration and amnesty laws to reduce the number of immigrants from all areas.

Conclusion

Until the 1960s, the U.S. Latino population was overwhelmingly Mexican and western, and so was the Hispanic cultural imprint. After 1965, changes in immigration laws led to new migrant streams from Central and South America to the eastern and southern United States. These new migrant streams created a more geographically and socially heterogeneous Latino population whose influence is now felt beyond the West.

Increases in the U.S. Latino population since the 1960s have led to the reinstitution of the repatriation strategy in California and a general anti-immigrant sentiment. Attempts to restrict Latin American immigration, especially Mexican immigration to California and the West, will be unsuccessful in the long-term because many sectors of its economy—agriculture, landscaping, child care, and janitorial services—are predicated on the use of low-wage immigrant labor from Mexico (Bustamante et al. 1992; Jones 1995). Unless the U.S. economy changes in some fundamental way Mexican immigration, legal or illegal, will continue.

Continued Latino immigration combined with higher Latino birth rates means that the Hispanic population is growing seven times faster than the non-Hispanic population. Current projections suggest that there will be 81 million Hispanics, constituting 30 percent of the population, by 2050 (U.S. Department of Commerce 1993). In cities such as San Antonio, Miami, and El Paso, Hispanics are already the majority; in Los Angeles and New York they are approaching majority status. Culturally, these communities are quite different from other U.S. cities: the nightly news is given in Spanish and English; newspapers are bilingual; Latino holidays are celebrated as often as traditional "American" holidays; specialty crops are planted and/or imported to provide traditional Latino foods; and Latino history, sometimes taught in Spanish, is presented along with Anglo American history.

Increasing numbers of Latinos in the United States have led to new attempts to restrict immigration and immigrant services. English Only and/or Official English laws have been passed by many states and are being discussed at the national level. Bilingual education is being challenged, while at the same time many colleges and universities are requiring the study of foreign languages which, increasingly, means Spanish. In many respects, the entire socio-political framework of the United States is affected, especially in the shaded areas of Figure 5. The reason for these social debates is that unlike many previous immigrant groups, Latinos are more likely to maintain their language and culture even while they learn English and absorb American culture (Matovina 1995). Unlike other immigrant groups that have maintained their language and culture, such as the Greeks and the Chinese, Latinos are much more numerous and their source areas are closer to the United States.

The long-term maintenance of Mexican culture in the West, for example, has allowed many non-Hispanics to embrace aspects of Latino culture such as Santa Fe style clothing, Southwestern architecture, and New Mexican cuisine. Whereas some Anglos feel threatened by the existence of a large non-Anglo cultural group in society and wish to foster the Americanization of Hispanics, other Anglos feel enriched by Latino contributions to society. How the United States deals with these tensions will be a continuing theme in American politics and society well into the future. Let us hope we develop along the Swiss, rather than the Balkan, model.

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